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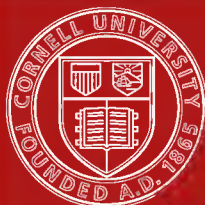
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Extracts from Aristaeas, Hecatus, Origen



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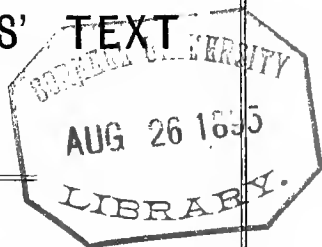


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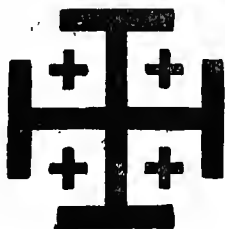
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EXTRACTS FROM
ARISTEAS, HECATÆUS, ORIGEN
AND OTHER EARLY WRITERS.



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24, HANOVER SQUARE, W.

1895.

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to the present day). Topographical references are found in brief allusions in detached sentences, scattered about among the writings of the Early Fathers, in the Byzantine and earliest Arab historians. Very few of these Pilgrims have as yet appeared in an English form, and no serious attempt has ever been made to search the Byzantine and Arab historians and the Early Fathers for their topographical allusions and illustrations. Many of them, however, give details of the highest importance in matters connected with the topography of Jerusalem, the positions of the holy sites, etc. It is proposed to begin with the Pilgrims, to take them one by one, to translate, annotate, and issue them, each separately, and as fast as the funds at the disposal of the Council will allow. All the publications are annotated.

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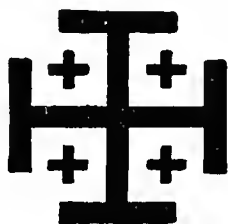
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VOL. XI.

Extracts from

ARISTEAS;
HECATÆUS OF ABDERA;
ORIGEN'S TREATISE AGAINST CELSUS;
LECTURES OF ST. CYRIL, ARCHBISHOP
OF JERUSALEM;
THE LIFE OF ST. SABA;
DION CASSIUS;
THE PASCHAL CHRONICLE;
THE PATRIARCH SOPHRONIUS;
THE CHRONICLE OF THEOPHANES; AND
EUTYCHII ANNALES.

JACQUES DE VITRY'S HISTORY OF JERUSALEM.



LONDON:
24, HANOVER SQUARE, W.
1897.

Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society.

EXTRACTS

FROM

Aristeas, Hecataeus, Origen

AND

OTHER EARLY WRITERS.

Translated by
AUBREY STEWART, M.A.



LONDON:
24, HANOVER SQUARE, W.,

1895.

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P R E F A C E.

THE following extracts, from works not always accessible, are interesting from their reference to, and from the light they throw upon, certain points connected with the topography of Jerusalem.

Aristeas and Hecatæus visited the Holy City before any change had been made in the walls and other fortifications erected by Nehemiah. The truthfulness of the description of Jerusalem attributed to Aristeas is not affected by the question of its authorship. There is evidence, internal and external, that it was written by someone who had actually visited the Jewish capital during the time of the Ptolemies (*circa* B.C. 250). Special interest attaches to the description of the citadel, which is said to have stood high, and to have protected the precincts of the temple. It apparently occupied the ground upon which the Macedonian Akra and the Herodian Antonia were afterwards built.

The extract from Origen shows that very early in the third century a cave at Bethlehem was pointed out as that in which Christ was born, and that in it there was a manger in which He was said to have been laid.

The extracts from the Catechetical Lectures of St. Cyril show that in the middle of the fourth century there were traces of a garden near the present church of the Holy Sepulchre, and that the outer tomb-chamber had been cut

away to enable the sepulchre itself to be decorated. They also contain allusions to the stone that closed the door of the tomb, and to the cross, which, even at that early period, had 'been distributed piecemeal to all the world.'

In the life of St. Saba the hospital and church of St. Mary built by Justinian at Jerusalem are mentioned ; and the extract from Dion Cassius contains a notice of the temple of Jupiter built by Hadrian on the site of the Temple of the Jews.

The Anacreontic verses of Sophronius contain several allusions to sites in Jerusalem, and to the church of the Sheep-pool (in Probatika), erected on the spot where the Virgin was supposed to have been born.

In the Paschal Chronicle, the Chronicle of Theophanes, and the Annals of Eutychius, there are notices of the capture of Jerusalem by the Persians ; and in the last there is a description of the surrender of the Holy City to Omar, the second Khalif.

C. W. W.

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ARISTEAS:

HISTORIA DE LEGIS DIVINÆ TRANSLATIONE, CH. V.

‘ ARISTEAS: the pretended author of a history, written in Greek, of the Septuagint translation of the Hebrew Scriptures. According to this tract, Aristeas was an officer of Ptolemy Philadelphus, King of Egypt, who, having employed Deme- trius Phalereus to form a royal library, and having heard of the Hebrew books of the Jews, sent Aristeas to the high- priest Eleazar to obtain copies of these books, and persons capable of translating them into Greek. Six persons were chosen out of each of the twelve tribes, making in all seventy- two, and a very extraordinary account is given of the manner in which they proceeded to make the Greek version. Aristeas pretends to give a narrative of his embassy, and he describes Jerusalem and other places. This book was first printed in the sixteenth century; and, attracting much attention, it went through several editions. It was translated into Italian by L. Domenichi, at Florence, 8vo., 1550; into French by G. Paradin, 4to., Lyons, 1564; and into English by J. Done, London, 12mo., 1633, of which a revised edition appeared in 1685. By this time the authenticity of the book which goes under the name of “Aristeas” had been seriously questioned, and it was closely examined by Scaliger, Hody, Prideaux, etc., who all pronounced against it. . . . Although

it was warmly defended by Isaac Vossius, it has been clearly demonstrated to be a forgery, and it is supposed to have been the invention of some Jew of Alexandria, who wished to raise the importance of the Greek version used by his countrymen there. . . . The tract bearing the name of Aristeas is of considerable antiquity, as it is quoted by Philo and Josephus.—ROSE'S '*New General Biographical Dictionary*,' 1857.

WHAT follows is the description of our journey to Eleazar ; but I will first explain the situation of the entire country. When we were come into those parts, we beheld the city standing in the midst on a lofty mountain. Upon its crest was placed the Temple, a noble building. Round about it were three walls, more than sixty cubits in height, and wide in proportion, while their length accorded with the arrangements of the Temple. All of these walls were built with remarkable magnificence and splendour in all respects. It was clear that money had been spent unstintingly upon the construction of the doors, to insure the strength of their fastenings, posts, and lintels. A curtain was likewise hung up, which resembled a door in every respect, and was an exceeding pleasant sight, from which it was hard to turn away, more especially because by reason of the wind blowing beneath it it was always in motion, and undulated from the bottom to the top as the air passed along the pavement beneath.

The altar was built of a size and position suitable to the place and to the burnt sacrifices which were offered upon it. On the side whereon one went up to it, it was built in a well-ordered fashion, and the ascent for the celebrants was suitable for priests clothed in muslin tunics reaching to the ankles. The Temple faces the east, and its back

looks toward the west. All the ground whereon it stands is paved, and has stairs leading up to convenient places in it, for carrying up water which is needed to wash away the blood of the sacrifice, for many thousands of beasts are driven up there upon feast days. There is an unfailing supply of water, because there is a fountain within the walls which naturally has a plenteous outflow; and also because there are wonderful and indescribable underground receptacles for water, as I said before, extending for a distance of five stadia round about the Temple enclosure. Each of these cisterns has countless pipes, so as to receive water on every side. All these watercourses are coated with lead both on the bottom and on the sides, and have much earth piled above them as long as they are in working order. There are many openings at the base, invisible to all save those whose business it is to use them, in order that by the force and violence of the stream which bursts forth all the collected blood from the sacrificed victims may be washed away. As I am convinced of the existence of the underground cisterns, I will tell how I learned it. They led me more than four stadia out of the city, and in one particular place bade me stoop down and listen to the murmur caused by the meeting of the waters. By this means I clearly learned how great the cisterns were, as I have told you.

The ministering priests are of surpassing bodily strength, orderliness, and silence, for they all do their duty without being ordered, albeit some of it is very unpleasant. Each man does his own appointed share of the work, and they work without ceasing, some bringing the wood, others the oil, others the fine wheaten flour, others the incense, while some sacrificed the burnt offerings, in doing which they showed great strength, for they take calves' legs, weighing

rather more than a talent apiece, in each hand, fling them a good way up in the air with either the right hand or the left, and never miss catching them again ; and so they do with the legs of sheep and of goats, some of which are wonderfully heavy and fat, for the aforesaid sacrifice is performed with victims chosen by the proper officers as being without blemish and exceeding fat. They have a place appointed for them to take their rest in, and there those who are not on duty rest themselves. When they have taken their rest they arise briskly without receiving any orders to resume their duty. So great is the silence everywhere that one would suppose that there was no one in the place, although the priests number seven hundred, and they who bring the victims to the Temple are many ; but everything is done with awe and reverence for its great sanctity.

We were greatly astonished, when we saw Eleazar officiating, at the grandeur and magnificence of his appearance, owing to the vestments which he wore and the precious stones with which he was bedecked. There were golden bells on his long tunic, which each gave its own special sound. Between each of these were pomegranates, curiously wrought and excellently coloured. He was begirt with a fine girdle, woven of most beauteous colours. On his breast he bore what is called the breastplate, in which were set twenty-two precious stones of different sorts, in gold fastenings, having inscribed upon them the names of the chiefs of each tribe, according to the ancient rule ordained in the beginning, and each of them glittering with its own proper colour of exceeding brightness. On his head he had what is called the Cidaris, and thereon an inimitable mitre, the sacred emblem of royalty. Above this was the name of God written in holy letters upon a

plate of gold, between his eyebrows, full of majesty. The chosen priest bore all these things worthily in his ministrations, and the glory of all these strikes awe and fear into the soul, so that a man thinks that he has come into another world. And I affirm that any man who went thither would be astounded by the sight, and would feel ineffable admiration, being deeply affected by each detail of the Divine service.

Thence we went up to the citadel adjoining the Temple, in order that we might see the whole of the city. The citadel stands high, is protected by many towers, and is built to the very top with large stones : it was constructed, as we understood, for the protection of the places near the Temple, so that if there were any sedition or sudden hostile invasion no one should be able to force his way into the Temple precincts, for the citadel stood on the summit of the hill above the precincts, and its towers were well supplied with darts and divers engines of war, and were guarded by exceeding trusty men, who had given great proofs of devotion to their country. These men were not suffered to leave the citadel save on feast days, and then only a few at a time, nor did they suffer anyone to come in ; and even if they were ordered by their commander to admit anyone to view the place, they treated him exceeding strictly, as was done in our own case, for they would scarce suffer us two to come in unarmed to view the sacrifices. They said that this charge had been entrusted to them upon their oath, and that they had all sworn, upon commandment laid upon them in the name of religion, that they would observe their orders in this matter, that they, being five hundred in number, would never let in more than five men at the same time, for the citadel was the sole defence of the temple. He who had first established

this guard of the aforesaid places had thus ensured their safety.

The size of the city is moderate, being about forty stadia in circuit, as far as one can guess. The towers stand as though in a theatre, so that one can see the public streets both in the upper and the lower city, and their exits through these towers, for the ground is sloping, because the city is built upon a hill. There are also steps leading to raised pavements, and some walk above and some below—a special precaution to protect those who are purified from contact with anything unclean.

The founders of the city were wise in making it of a sufficient size, for the land is a great and fine one. Those parts of it which are in what is called Samaria and towards Idumæa are flat country, but some part of it is mountainous, so that it needs constant cultivation to render it fertile, and as this is done, and it is all cultivated, there is much abundance in all the aforesaid land.

Such of its cities, however, as are large and prosperous are full of people, but neglect the tillage of the ground, everything being devoted to personal luxury, as was the case in Alexandria. . . .

I have made this digression, because Eleazar carefully explained what has been said.

Much labour is devoted to agriculture, for the land is thickly planted with olive-yards, cornfields, and herbs, vines and honey. Their fruit trees and palms are innumerable; they have animals of all sorts and plenty of pasture for them, wherefore as they clearly saw that their country needed a multitude of people, they arranged the size of their cities and villages accordingly. There is, moreover, great store of spices, of precious stones, and of gold, brought into the country by the Arabs, for not only is the

land fertile, but it is favourable for commerce, and the city is busy with trade. Neither is there any want of imports by sea, for the land contains convenient ports, which supply the parts about Ascalon, Joppa, and Gaza, and likewise Ptolemais; the city founded by the king (Jerusalem) lies in the midst of the aforementioned places, and at no great distance from them.

THE GREEK PHYSICIAN HECATÆUS OF ABDERA.

‘HECATÆUS of Abdera was a contemporary of Alexander the Great, and Ptolemy the son of Lagus, and appears to have accompanied the former on his Asiatic expedition as far as Syria. From the manner in which he is spoken of by Eusebius (*“Præp. Evang.”* ix., p. 239), we must infer that he was a man of great reputation on account of his extensive knowledge, as well as on account of his practical wisdom. In the reign of the first Ptolemy he travelled up the Nile as far as Thebes. He was the author of several works, of which only small fragments have come down to us. One of these was a history of the Jews, of which the book on Abraham mentioned by Josephus (*“Ant. Jud.”* i. 7) was probably only a portion. This work is frequently referred to by the ancients (Joseph. c. Apion, i. 22; Euseb., *“Præp. Evang.”* ix., p. 408, xiii., p. 680; Clem. Alex., *“Strom.”* v., p. 603, and others), but it was declared spurious even by Origen, and later critics are divided in their opinions.’—SMITH’S *‘Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography.’*

THEY (the Jews) dwell upon about three million acres of land, for the most part exceeding good and fertile, for this is the size of Judæa.

The Jews have many castles and villages scattered about the country, and one fenced city, of about fifty

stadia in circuit, which is inhabited by some hundred and twenty thousand people. In the midst of the city there is a stone enclosure, measuring about five acres, one hundred cubits wide, and having two gates. In it there is a square altar, made of a pile of unpolished white stones. Its sides are each twenty cubits long, and its height twelve cubits. Besides this altar there is a great temple containing an altar and a candlestick, each made of gold, and weighing two talents ; moreover, a perpetual lamp burning therein both by day and by night. There is no image therein, and no place whatever for offerings ; neither is there any plantation or grove or anything of that sort. Priests are busy therein, both by night and by day, with certain expiatory services. They are not on any account permitted to taste wine while they are in the temple.

ORIGEN'S TREATISE AGAINST CELSUS.

BOOK I., CHAPTER 51.

ORIGEN (ORIGENES ADAMANTUS), BORN A.D. 185 OR 6,
DIED A.D. 253.

This extract is made from 'The Writings of Origen,' translated by the Rev. F. Crombie, D.D., in the 'Ante-Nicene Christian Library.' Edinburgh, 1872.

NOW, respecting the place of the Saviour's birth, that the Ruler was to come forth from Bethlehem, the Scripture speaks in the following manner: 'And thou Bethlehem, house of Ephrata, art not least among the thousands of Judah; for out of thee shall He come forth unto Me who is to be Ruler in Israel; and His goings forth have been of old, from everlasting.'¹ Now this prophecy could not suit any one of those who, as Celsus's Jew says, were fanatics and mob-leaders, and who gave out that they had come from heaven, unless it were clearly shown that he had been born in Bethlehem, or, as another might say, had come forth from Bethlehem to be the leader of the people. With respect to the birth of Jesus in Bethlehem, if any one desires, after the prophecy of Micah, and after the history recorded in the Gospel by the disciples of Jesus, to have additional evidence from other sources, let him know that, in conformity with the narrative in the

¹ Cf. Mic. v. 2 and Matt. ii. 6.

Gospel regarding His birth, there is shown at Bethlehem the cave where He was born, and the manger in the cave where He was wrapped in swaddling clothes. And this sight is greatly talked of in surrounding places, even among the enemies of the faith, it being said that in this cave was born that Jesus who is worshipped and revered by the Christians. Moreover, I am of opinion that before the advent of Christ the chief priests and scribes of the people, on account of the distinctness and clearness of this prophecy, taught that in Bethlehem the Christ was to be born. And this opinion had prevailed also extensively among the Jews, for which reason it is related that Herod, on inquiring at (?) the chief priests and scribes of the people, heard from them that Christ was to be born in Bethlehem of Judea, 'whence David was.' It is stated also in the Gospel according to John that the Jews declared that the Christ was to be born in Bethlehem, 'whence David was.'¹ But after our Lord's coming, those who busied themselves with overthrowing the belief that the place of His birth had been the subject of prophecy from the beginning, withheld such teaching from the people, acting in a similar manner to those individuals who won over those soldiers of the guard stationed round the tomb who had seen Him arise from the dead, and who instructed these eye-witnesses to report as follows: 'Say that His disciples, while we slept, came and stole Him away. And if this come to the governor's ears, we shall persuade him, and secure you.'²

¹ John vii. 42.

² Matt. xxviii. 13, 14.

CYRIL.

CATECHETICAL LECTURES OF ST. CYRIL, ARCHBISHOP OF JERUSALEM.

ADDRESSED TO CANDIDATES FOR BAPTISM.

From the 'Library of the Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church, Anterior to the Division into East and West.'
Oxford: J. H. Parker, 1838.

'ST. CYRIL of Jerusalem is said to have been the son of Christian parents, but the date and place of his birth are unknown. He was born in the first years of the fourth century, and at least brought up in Jerusalem. He was ordained deacon probably by Macarius, and priest by Maximus, the Bishops of Jerusalem, the latter of whom he succeeded A.D. 349 or 350. Shortly before this, in A.D. 347 or 348, during his priesthood, he delivered the Catechetical Lectures which have come down to us. . . . He died about the year 386. Except one or two short compositions and fragments, nothing remains of his writings but his Catechetical Lectures.'—J. H. NEWMAN, in Pusey's *'Library of the Fathers.'*

Extract I., x. 19.—Many, my beloved, are the true testimonies concerning Christ. The Father from Heaven is witness of the Son; the Holy Ghost is witness, descending bodily in the shape of a dove; the Archangel

Gabriel is His witness, bringing good tidings to many ; the Virgin Mother of God is His witness ; the blessed manger is His witness ; Egypt is His witness, who received her Lord while yet young in the flesh ; Simeon is His witness, who received Him in his arms, and said, ‘ Lord, now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace, according to Thy Word : for mine eyes have seen Thy salvation, which Thou hast prepared before the face of all people ;’ and Anna, the prophetess, is His witness, that widow of most devout and austere life. His witness is John the Baptist, the greatest among the prophets, the introducer of the New Covenant, who in a manner joined in himself the two Covenants, the Old and the New. Jordan is His witness among rivers ; the Sea of Tiberias is His witness among seas ; the blind, the maimed, the dead raised to life, are His witnesses ; the devils are His witnesses, saying, ‘ What have we to do with Thee, Jesus ? we know Thee who Thou art, the Holy One of God ; the winds are His witnesses, bidden (*sic*) and bridled by Him ; the five loaves are His witnesses, multiplied to five thousand ; the holy wood of the cross is His witness, which is seen among us at this day, and, by means of those who have in faith taken thereof, has from this place now almost filled the whole world ; the palm-tree in the valley is His witness, which supplied branches to the children who then hailed Him ; Gethsemane is His witness, which to our imaginations almost shows Judas still ; Golgotha, this holy place which is raised above all others, is His witness in the sight of all ; the Holy Sepulchre is His witness, and the stone which lies there to this day ; the sun now shining is His witness, which at the season of His salutary Passion suffered eclipse ; the darkness is His witness, which was then from the sixth to the ninth hour ; the light is His witness, which shone out from the ninth hour till evening ; the Mount of Olives

is His witness, whence He ascended to the Father ; the clouds, laden with showers, are His witnesses, which received their Lord ; the heavenly gates, etc.

II., xiii. 4.—Jesus, then, really suffered for all men, for the cross was no illusion, otherwise our redemption is an illusion also. His death was not in appearance, for then is our salvation also a tale. If His death was but in appearance they were true who said, ‘ We remember that that deceiver said while He was yet alive, “ After three days I will rise again.” ’ His passion, then, was real, for He was really crucified, and we are not ashamed thereof. He was crucified, and we deny it not—nay, I will rather glory to speak of it. For though I should now deny it, this Golgotha confutes me, near which we are now assembled ; the wood of the cross confutes me, which has from hence been distributed piecemeal to all the world. I confess the cross, because I know of the Resurrection ; for if, after being crucified, He had remained as He was, I had not perchance confessed it, for I might have hidden it with my Master ; but now that the Resurrection has followed the cross I am not ashamed to declare it.

xiii. 38, 39.—Take then, first, as an unassailable foundation, the cross, and build upon it the rest of thy faith. Deny not the Crucified, for if thou deny Him thou hast many to arraign thee. . . . These will cry out upon thee, among the stars, the darkened sun ; among the things upon earth, the wine mingled with myrrh ; among reeds, the reed ; among herbs, the hyssop ; among the things of the sea, the sponge ; among trees, the wood of the cross ; the soldiers, too, as was said, who nailed Him, and cast lots for His vesture ; the soldier who pierced His side with the spear ; the women who then were present ; the veil of the temple then rent asunder ; the hall of Pilate, now laid waste by the power of Him who was then

crucified ; this holy Golgotha, rising on high, and showing itself to this day, and displaying even yet how because of Christ the rocks were then riven ;¹ the neighbouring sepulchre where He was laid ; and the stone which was laid on the door, which lies to this day by the tomb ;² the angels who were then present ; the women who worshipped Him after His resurrection ; Peter and John, who ran to the sepulchre ; and Thomas, who thrust his hand into His side, and his fingers into the print of the nails. For it was for our sakes that he so carefully handled Him, for what thou, who wert not there present, wouldest have sought, he, being present, by God's providence, did seek.

xiv. 5.—And wouldest thou know the place (of Christ's burial) also ? He says again in the Canticles, ' I went down into the garden of nuts.' For though it be now adorned, and that most excellently, with royal gifts, yet it was before a garden, and the tokens and traces thereof remain. A garden enclosed, was it—a fountain sealed by the Jews, who said, ' We remember that that deceiver said while He was yet alive, " After three days I will rise again ; command, therefore, that the sepulchre be made sure ;"' and afterwards, ' They went and made the sepulchre sure, sealing the stone and setting a watch.' To whom, referring, there is one who said well, ' And in rest wilt Thou judge them.' But who is the fountain sealed, or who is interpreted as the well of living waters ? It is the Saviour, concerning whom it is written, ' With Thee is the fountain of life.'

xiii. 9.—And whence did the Saviour arise ? He says in the Song of Songs, ' Rise up, my love, and come away ;' and afterwards in the cleft of the rock, for the cleft of the rock he calls the cleft which was then at the door of the salutary sepulchre, and was hewn out of the rock itself,

¹ The martyr Lucian (Ap. Ruff, ' Hist.,' ix. 6), says the same.

² Jerome, Ep. 27 (ed. 1684).

as is customary here in the front of sepulchres. For now it appears not, the outer cave having been hewn away for the sake of the present adornment, for before the sepulchre was decorated by royal zeal there was a cave in the face of the rock. But where is the rock which has in it this cleft? Lies it in the midst of the city, or near the walls and the outskirts? And is it in the ancient walls, or in the outer walls which were built afterwards? He says then in the Canticles, 'In the cleft of the rock near to the outer wall.'

EXTRACT FROM THE LIFE OF ST. SABA.

BY CYRIL OF SCYTHOPOLIS.

'ST. SABAS, one of the most renowned patriarchs of the monks of Palestine, was born at Mutalasca, in Cappadocia, not far from Cæsarea, the capital, in 439. . . Founded seven monasteries. . . . In the ninety-first year of his age, at the request of Peter, Patriarch of Jerusalem, he undertook a second journey to Constantinople, on behalf of the Christians at Jerusalem, who had been calumniated at Court. Justinian, who then occupied the imperial throne, received him with great honour, and offered to settle annual revenues for the maintenance of all his monasteries. St. Sabas thanked his majesty, but said that they stood in no need of such revenues as long as the monks should serve God. However, he begged a remission of all taxes in favour of the people of Palestine for a certain term, in consideration of what they had suffered by the plundering of the Samaritans; that his majesty would build a hospital at Jerusalem for the pilgrims, and a fortress for the protection of the hermits and monks against the inroads of the barbarians; that he would bestow some ornaments on the church of Our Lady, which was lately built, and would afford his protection to the Catholics; all of which things were granted. . . . St. Sabas died 532, being ninety-two years old. He is commemorated on December 5 by both the Greek and Latin calendars.'—ALBAN BUTLER, *'Lives of the Saints,'* 1830.

LXXII. SOME days after this the Emperor sent for St. Saba, and said to him: 'Father, I hear that you have founded many monasteries in the wilderness, but wherever you wish for it, ask for a revenue for the needs of the inmates, and we will provide one, that they may pray for us and for the commonwealth committed to our charge.' He answered: 'They who pray for your Holiness need no revenues of this sort, for the Lord is their portion and revenue, who in the wilderness rained bread from heaven upon a stiff-necked and rebellious people. But, most holy Emperor, we beg of you for the restoration of the holy churches throughout Palestine; we ask you for a grant from the public funds, and for the rebuilding of the holy houses which have been burned by the Samaritans, a subsidy to the Christians of Palestine, who have been made few and robbed. Moreover, we beg you to establish a hospital in the Holy City for the nursing of sick strangers, and that you should build and adorn the new church of St. Mary, whose foundations were laid some time ago by the Archbishop Elias, for this is a task which especially becomes your Holiness. And because of the inroads of the Saracens, we beseech your Serenity to give orders to his Highness Summus to build a castle at the public expense beyond the monasteries which my insignificance has established in the wilderness. And of a truth I believe that in return for these five works of piety God will add to your dominions Africa and Rome and all the rest of the empire of Honorius, which was lost by your most pious Serenity's predecessors. Furthermore, I beg of you to do away with the heresy of the Arians, and also that of the Nestorians and Origenists, and set free the churches of God from the shame of these three heresies.'

LXXIII. Now those things which Father Saba asked our most holy Emperor without delay were carried out, and

those things which St. Saba prophesied to him God graciously brought to pass, as we shall learn clearly from what follows. First of all, imperial rescripts were sent to the Archbishop Peter and to all those who bore office throughout Palestine, bidding Anthony, Bishop of Ascalon, and Zachary, Bishop of Pella, to view the villages in First and Second Palestine which had been burned by the Samaritans, and to subscribe from the public funds of the Ninth and Tenth Indiction, in proportion to the injury done in each place, the sum of thirteen hundred gold pieces. He also bade them view the burned chapels, and reckon how much money the restoration of each holy place would cost, and provide this money either from the public funds or from the property of the Samaritans, by means of the illustrious Count Stephen, who was also bidden to protect the bishops with as large an escort as they might need. Moreover, in accordance with the holy old man's third request, he founded a hospital in the midst of Jerusalem. It contained at first one hundred beds, and he set apart for it a clear annual revenue of eighteen hundred and fifty pieces of gold.¹ Afterwards he ordered that the hospital should contain two hundred beds, and added as much more clear and inalienable revenue thereunto. He also most zealously fulfilled the old man's fourth request, and sent to Jerusalem one Theodorus, an engineer, to the end that he might build the new church of the Holy Mother of God, the ever-Virgin Mary; and he gave orders to farmers of the revenue in Palestine to provide money for the building. He gave supreme authority over the matter to the Archbishop Peter, but ordered Barachus, the Bishop of Bacatha,² to

¹ νομισματα.

² 'Bacatha neutro plurali, quæ Metrocomes sive Metrocomia in notiis Græcis appellatur, id est, præcipuus vicorum, sedes fuit episcopalis Palæstinæ tertiæ. Ipsa est quam Carolus à S. Paulo *Buschat* appellat, et inter sedes Palæstinæ primæ recenset.' Oriens Christianus, s.v.

overlook the work of building. Thus, through much zeal and many hands, the new church of the Holy Virgin was in twelve years built and fitted with all due ornament. It is needless to dilate upon the size of this holy temple, its radiant glory, and its costly ornament, seeing that it is present before our eyes, and excels all the ancient spectacles and wonders which man used to admire of old, and of which the Greeks have told us in their histories. This, then, was the fruit of St. Saba's fourth petition. Lastly, the most holy Emperor, having respect to the fifth petition of St. Saba, sent a rescript to Summus, bidding him take a sum of one thousand gold pieces out of the revenues of Palestine to build a castle for Father Saba, and to provide a garrison of soldiers kept at the public expense to protect his monasteries.

DION CASSIUS,

BOOK LXIX., CHAPTER 12.

BUT (Hadrian) stirred up a war of no small extent or duration by founding a city at Jerusalem in the place of that which had been destroyed, which city he named *Ælia Capitolina*, and by setting up another temple to Jupiter on the site of the Lord's Temple, for the Jews thought it an outrage that any foreigners should be made citizens of their city, and that foreign temples should be set up therein. Wherefore, while Hadrian was present in their country and in Syria and Egypt they remained quiet, beyond that they purposely made the arms which they were required to furnish of bad workmanship, to the end that the arms might be rejected, and they might have them themselves for their own use ; and when he was far away, they publicly revolted. They did not dare to meet the Romans in a pitched battle, but they seized upon all the advantageous positions in the country, and strengthened them with walls and underground passages, that they might have ways of escape when overpowered, and might pass unobserved underground from one of their strong places to another ; moreover, they made holes in the upper part of their subterranean galleries, to give them light and air. At first the Romans took no notice of them ; but when the whole of Judæa became moved, and all the Jews throughout the land were stirred up and gathered together, and did the Romans much mischief both by treachery and in open war, and many

people belonging to other nations were led by hopes of plunder to join them, and nearly all the world was in an uproar about it, then at last Hadrian sent his best generals against them. Of these the first was Julius Severus, who was taken away from his government of Britain and sent against the Jews. He did not venture to make any direct attack upon them, on account of their numbers and desperation; but he cut off separate bodies of them by the numbers of his soldiers and officers, and straitened them for provisions, and shut them up in fortresses, and thus was able slowly but surely to wear them out and destroy them. Very few survived; he took fifty of their most notable forts, nine hundred and eighty-five of their chiefest villages were laid in ruins, and five hundred and eighty thousand men were slain in skirmishes and battles, while as to those who perished by hunger, pestilence, or fire, no man could number them. Thus almost the whole of Judæa was laid waste, even as had been foretold to the people thereof before the war: for Solomon's tomb, which they regard as one of their holy places, fell to pieces and was scattered abroad of its own accord, and many wolves and hyænas came howling into their cities. Many of the Romans also perished in this war; wherefore Hadrian, when he wrote to the Senate, did not use the usual Imperial preface, 'If you and your children are well, it is well; I and the army are well.' He sent Severus to Bithynia, a country which did not need arms, but a wise and just ruler of a high reputation, all of which qualities were to be found in him. He arranged and settled all matters among the Bithynians, both public and private, in such sort that he is remembered among us¹ even to this day; and the Senate and the lot gave him Pamphylia in the place of Bithynia.

¹ Dion Cassius was a native of Nicæa in Bithynia.

EXTRACT FROM THE CHRONICON PASCHALE.

I. 704.

IN THE SECOND YEAR OF THE REIGN OF HERACLIUS
THE NEW CONSTANTINE.

The Paschal Chronicle, otherwise known as the Fasti Siculi, is a work of unknown authorship, containing a chronicle of the world's history down to the tenth year of the Emperor Heraclius. Gibbon refers to the Chronicle, 265-271, for Heraclius's campaigns in Persia.

IN this year, about the month of June, an ever to be lamented misfortune befell us, for, together with many other cities of the East, Jerusalem was taken by the Persians, and many thousands of clergy, monks, and nuns slaughtered therein. The Lord's Sepulchre was burned and the famous churches of God, and, in a word, everything of value was ruined. The venerable beams of the cross, together with countless sacred vessels, were taken by the Persians, and the patriarch Zacharias was made prisoner by them; and all this took no long time, not even a month, but came to pass within a few days.

On the fourteenth day of the month Gorpiaeus, the month September in the Roman calendar, of the third indiction, on the third exaltation, the Sacred Sponge was bound to the life-giving cross, and was itself exalted in

the most holy Great Church, having been sent thither by the Patriarch Nicetas.

On the 28th of Hyperberetæus, the month of October in the Roman calendar, on the night of the seventh day, being a Saturday, the holy lance was brought from the Holy Places, one of the companions of the accursed Salbara, after its capture by them, having given it to the aforesaid Nicetas; and on the Sunday the news of its having been brought was straightway published abroad in the most holy Great Church; on Tuesday and Wednesday it was worshipped by men, on Thursday and Friday by women.

THE ANACREONTICS OF THE PATRIARCH SOPHRONIUS.

SOPHRONIUS, *Patriarch of Jerusalem*, A.D. 633-637 (*Clinton, 'Fasti Romani,' ii. 558*), the unwearied champion of the orthodox faith against the Monothelitic heresy, was not unworthy to be ranked with Athanasius and Cyril among the defenders of the truth against successive depravations. Born at Damascus; was the pupil and intimate friend of the celebrated Joannes Moschus, the author of the '*Pratum Spirituale*,' and accompanied him in his wanderings among the Lauras and ascetic settlements of Egypt and the East. Moschus was the first to take holy orders, A.D. 575. Sophronius did so somewhat later. When the Persians under Chosroes II. were beginning to overrun Syria, circa A.D. 605, the two friends quitted the Holy Land for Alexandria, where they seem to have spent eight years, with frequent journeys to the Thebaid and the Oasis to visit famous ascetics. At Alexandria they became intimate with the patriarch, the celebrated Joannes Eleemosynarius. John who was more distinguished for his charity and piety than for learning, regardless of the difference of age, admitted the two friends to the most unrestricted intimacy, looking up to them as his spiritual fathers and counsellors, and availing himself of their aid in combating the Severians and other heretics, large numbers of whom they converted. On John's death, A.D. 616, Sophronius delivered his funeral oration.

The advance of the Persians about this time drove the friends from Alexandria. They visited Cyprus, Samos, and other islands, and finally settled in Rome, where Moschus completed his 'Pratum,' which he dedicated to his friend. After his death Sophronius, with twelve disciples, sailed with the body to Palestine, A.D. 620. Sophronius now devoted himself to theological study and literary composition. It was at this time that he wrote his 'Life of St. Mary of Egypt,' his 'Typicon,' his long 'Lives of St. Cyrus and St. John,' and the greater part of his hagiological and ritual works.

The measures taken by Cyrus, the newly-appointed Patriarch of Alexandria, to carry into effect the much-desired reunion of the Monophysites with the Orthodox Church, which was the price of Cyrus's elevation by Heraclius to so high a dignity (A.D. 630), gave the occasion to Sophronius to appear as the undaunted champion of orthodoxy against the combined power of the chief civil and ecclesiastical rulers of the Christian world, contributing no little by his learning and his courage to the eventual triumph of the true faith over the Monothelite heresy. Dissatisfied with the compromise arrived at by May, 633, Sophronius resolved to make a personal appeal from the traitorous Patriarch of Alexandria to Sergius, Patriarch of Constantinople. Sergius entreated Sophronius to desist from so perilous a controversy, and the latter, silenced if not satisfied, returned to Syria, bearing with him a letter containing Sergius's definition of faith. A few months made a great change in Sophronius's position, and rendered him a more formidable adversary. At the end of A.D. 633 (Clinton), or early in 634, he was, much against his will, raised to the patriarchal throne of Jerusalem, as successor to Modestus. His changed position he regarded as releasing him from his promise to Sergius. Silence, which might be pardonable in a private individual,

was traitorous in a ruler of the Church. He gathered a synod of his clergy, which pronounced dogmatically against the two wills and two operations. The acts of this synod he sent to Sergius and to Honorius, Bishop of Rome, accompanying them with his own synodical letter, announcing his election and declaring his faith. Before the receipt of the synodical letter, Sergius, in alarm at the probable consequences of Sophronius's elevation, wrote to Honorius by way of precaution, informing him of what had occurred, and asking his judgment. Honorius replied on the whole approvingly, but deprecated the application of dialectics to such holy mysteries. Sophronius was prevented from carrying on the controversy personally by the advance of Omar and his Mohammedan forces, who were rapidly making themselves masters of Syria. At the Lateran Council under Martin I., A.D. 649, Sophronius was most unfairly charged with being the author of the whole of the long-protracted and embittered dispute. We may rather honour him as a courageous and unwearied defender of a vital truth endangered by worldly policy, which sought for seeming strength in an unreal union based on compromise. The last days of Sophronius were overclouded by the ravages of the Mohammedans. In A.D. 635 Omar took Damascus, and made himself master of the rest of Palestine except Jerusalem. Bethlehem being in the hands of the infidels, the people of Jerusalem could not go thither as they were wont on Christmas Day. Sophronius delivered an impassioned homily on this occasion, calling upon them to repent of the sins which had brought about such a disaster. Omar soon besieged Jerusalem. The siege lasted four months, during which the defenders, stimulated by the fervent exhortations of the patriarch, inflicted great losses on the assailants. At last Sophronius appeared on the walls, and proposed a capitulation on the condition of Omar himself

coming to receive the surrender. Theophanes ('Chron.,' p. 282) describes the arrival and demeanour of 'the sternly frugal' Omar, who imposed on the patriarch the humiliating duty of acting as his guide to the holy places. Sophronius obeyed, muttering the words of Daniel concerning 'the abomination of desolation standing in the holy place,' of which he now beheld the fulfilment, when by Omar's command the hallowed site of the temple was prepared for the erection of the mosque bearing his name.

The aged patriarch did not long survive the humiliation of that day. The date of his death, however, is uncertain. Baronius places it in 636, the year of the fall of Jerusalem; Pagi and Clinton at the close of 637, and Papebroch in 638.

Sophronius was a very voluminous writer in various departments of literature, both in prose and poetry.

CANTO XIX.

THE ANACREONTIC VERSES OF THE PATRIARCH SOPHRONIUS.

ASCENDING the steps¹ from the famous valley I would kiss the Mount of Olives from whence He ascended into the heavens, and after I had magnified the boundless depths of heavenly wisdom, through which He saved me, I would swiftly run thither where He was wont to expound mysteries to His reverend companions, casting light into darksome depths. I would then pass beneath the roof through the greatest gate, and, going out upon the terrace, would admire the beauty of the holy city as it lay towards the west. How sweet to behold thy loveliness from the Mount of Olives, thou city of God!

¹ For these steps, see Niceph. Hist., Book VIII., chap. xxx., where he describes how the Empress Helena caused marble stairs to be made leading up to her church on the Mount of Olives.

I would go to the tomb¹ of him who lay four days dead, even Lazarus, and would give glory to the King who raised him up again, and keeping down the fervour of sacred love which burned in my heart, I would straightway go to the village of Bethlehem, where the Lord of all was born, and entering through a noble portico of four columns into the midst of that most splendid triple vaulted building I would dance for joy. May Christ, who was born there, grant to me to see the beauties of Bethlehem. As I viewed the close array of columns that gleam with gold, a delicately wrought work of art, I should escape the cloud of woe (which now besets me), and up above I would view the panelled roof that glitters like the stars, for a grace as of the firmament shines forth from that beauteous work. I would visit the grotto wherein the Virgin Queen of all brought forth the Saviour for mortal men, both God and man indeed. Upon the famous floor whereon the child God was placed I would press my eyes, my mouth, and my forehead, to bear away a blessing from thence. I would approach and adore the renowned manger, by whose operation I that was by nature irrational was brought up on the Word of God.

I would enter into the cave of the babes that were slain by the frantic Herod's jealousy, when the Word became flesh. O Father Basilus,² wisest of men, would that I now might kiss thy face, and, together with the clergy and the discreet people, with the holy bishops and the abbots of the monks, I might enter into my patriarchate. O thou best and saintly scion of my race, mild-minded Basilus, ever to be venerated by me, thou knowest, thou holy one, wherefore at this time my mind recalls thee, joy of my heart, delight of my parents, glory of wisdom.

¹ Quaresmius, ii., 310.

² It is not known for certain who was the Basilus here alluded to.

CANTO XX.

THE ANACREONTIC VERSES OF THE PATRIARCH
SOPHRONIUS.HIS LONGING FOR THE HOLY CITY AND THE HOLY
PLACES.

O THOU holy city of God, Jerusalem, I would that I were now at thy gates, that I might enter in rejoicing. A holy love for famous Jerusalem ever hath dominion over my heart. As I walked over thy ground I would come to the church of the Anastasis, from whence the Lord of all rose again, having subdued the power of Death. I would kiss the sweet earth, and would behold the holy dome, as vast as the heavens, four . . .

Crossing the holy platform, I would go to the tomb of God in the midst thereof, and would kiss with deep devotion that stone (whereon the Lord was laid), and would dance for joy to my heart's content as I kissed the columns round about the holy tomb, with their vaults and capitals of golden lilies. I would pass from thence to the triple portico, all bedecked with gems and gold, that I might draw near to the well-built Place of a Skull. O light-giving tomb, thou art the ocean stream of eternal life, and true river of Lethe. I would lie at full length and kiss that stone, the sacred centre of the world, wherein the tree was fixed which did away with the curse of the (former) tree. How great is thy glory, thou famous stone, wherein was set the cross that redeemed mankind. From thence, thrilled with joy, I would go to the place where all faithful people worship the glorious wood divine. Yet, as I hurried along, full of care, I would show respect to the picture wrought by the painter, and eagerly bow my

knee before it. Then joyously I would pass down from the splendid floor (of the church) into the place where the noble Empress Helena found the holy beams of the cross, and would then, with a heart full of contrition, ascend to the chamber where I should see the reed, the sponge, and the spear. I would then view the beauty of the newly built church, where a band of monks sing hymns all night long. Thence would I ply my steps until I came to Sion, to the place where the grace of God came down in the likeness of tongues of fire ; where the Lord of all celebrated the mystic supper and washed His disciples' feet, to teach them not to be high-minded. It is Mary who pours forth salvation for all men, like rivers, running from that stone whereon the Mother of God was laid. Hail to thee, Sion, splendid sun of the world, for whom I yearn with groans day and night. And when He had burst the bonds of Hell and had brought up the dead rescued from thence, it was here that He graciously manifested Himself. Now, leaving Sion and the heights, and having embraced the stone whereon my Creator was scourged on my account, I would go into the house and weep with sighs over the stone that marks the spot where the Chief of all Wisdom heard His own sentence, and I would bow myself to the ground and kiss it.

I would enter the place of the holy sheep-pool, where famous Anna bore Mary, and, entering the church, the church of the most holy Mother of God, I would embrace and kiss its beloved walls. It is Mary who pours forth salvation for all, like a river, from that stone whereon the daughter of God was laid. Hail to thee, Sion, splendid sun of the world, for whom I long and groan by day and by night. After He had sent up the dead released from hell, then the Saviour Lord of all appeared here in friendly guise. Leaving the heights of Sion, and having embraced

the stone whereon the Creator was scourged for me, I would go into the house, would sob with tears over the place where the Prince of Wisdom heard His sentence, and would fall to the earth and kiss the stone.

Entering into the holy church of the sheep-pool, where renowned Anna bore Mary, going into the church, the church of God's holy Mother, I would embrace and kiss the beloved walls; nor would I lightly pass, on my way to the market-place, by the spot where the royal virgin was born in her father's house. I would behold the steps whereon the palsied man took up his bed and walked, being made whole at the bidding of the Word. And I would rejoice with heartfelt joy whenever I sang of the field that received the body of God's mother Mary, the glorious field of Gethsemane, where was made a tomb for the Mother of God.

O how sweet art thou, thou noble mount from whence Christ the King ascended into Heaven.

THE CHRONICLE OF THEOPHANES.

THEOPHANES ISAURUS, also surnamed Isaacius and Confessor, was born A.D. 758, and soon afterwards, by the death of his father, became a ward of the Emperor Constantine (Copronymus). While quite a youth he was compelled to marry the daughter of a patrician named Leo, but on the wedding-day Theophanes and his wife agreed that the marriage should not be consummated, and on the death of Leo in A.D. 780, his daughter retired into a convent, and her husband Theophanes, who had in the meantime discharged various public offices, entered the monastery of Polychromium, near Singriana, in Lesser Mysia. He soon left that place, and went to live in the island of Calonymus, where he converted his paternal estate into a monastery. After a residence of six years there he returned to the neighbourhood of Singriana, where he purchased an estate called 'Ager,' and founded another monastery, of which he made himself abbot.

Theophanes was the personal friend of Georgius Syncellus, by whose desire he continued the 'Chronicon,' which was broken off by the death of Syncellus. The work of Theophanes begins at the accession of Diocletian, and embraces a period of 524 years, down to A.D. 811, when the career of Theophanes was ended by his imprisonment. He died about A.D. 818, a prisoner, because of his vehement opposition to the Emperor Leo in the matter

of image-worship, and received from his party the title of 'Confessor.'

Theophanes must not be confounded with his namesake, Theophanes of Byzantium, who wrote a history of the Eastern Empire during the war with Chosroes.

A.M. 6105.—In this year the Persians took Damascus, and made much people captive. The Emperor Heraclius sent ambassadors to Chosroes that he might put an end to this cruel shedding of human blood, proposing to arrange terms of tribute and conditions of peace; but Chosroes sent the ambassadors back *re infecta* without speaking to them, because he hoped to conquer the whole Roman Empire. In this same year Heraclius married Martina, and gave her by proclamation the title of Augusta, having had her crowned in the temple of Augustus.¹ She was crowned by the Patriarch Sergius.

A.M. 6106.—In this year the Persians took the Jordan, Palestine, and the holy city by force of arms, and slew much people therein, as many, it is said, as ninety thousand, by the hands of the Jews, for they bought each man as many Christians as he could afford, and slew them. The Persians took Zacharias, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, the precious and life-giving wood of the cross, and many captives, and led them away to Persia.

In the same year a second Constantine was born to the Emperor by Martina, and was baptized in the Blachernal Palace by the Patriarch Sergius.

¹ Ἀυγουστῆαν. Cf. Ἀυγουστείον, Dion Cass., lvii. 10, 7.

EUTYCHII ANNALES.

BOOK II., PP. 213-289.

Eutychius, whose name was originally Säid, was born in Egypt on Sept. 8, A.D. 876. On his elevation to the Patriarchate of Alexandria, he took a Hebrew name, which is interpreted in Greek as Εὐτυχής or Εὐτύχιος (the Fortunate). He was deeply learned in medicine, as well as in history and theology. He was a contemporary of King Alfred of England, and died about A.D. 939. I have used Pococke's version of the 'Annals' in Migne's 'Patrologie,' Series Græca iii.

‘A pompous edition of an indifferent author, translated by Pococke to gratify the Presbyterian prejudices of his friend Selden.’—GIBBON.

NOW Phocas reigned over the Romans for eight years, counting from the fifteenth year of Chosroes, King of Persia. When Phocas laid hands upon the children of Maurice and slew them, their nurse took one of them and hid him, and gave up her own child to be slain in his stead. This youth, when he grew up, became a monk on Mount Sinai, and died there. But when Chosroes, the son of Hormuzd, heard that Maurice and all his sons had been murdered, he called together his followers, and said: ‘I must needs take vengeance for the blood of my father-in-law, and avenge him’ (for Mary, his wife, Maurice’s daughter, urged him to do this). And his counsellors

answered, 'Verily we told you that there could be no covenant and no plighted troth by which the Christians would abide; but you would not hearken to us. Had they cared anything for covenant or good faith they would not have slain their king. But now we will show the king something which if he do he will break their hearts, shatter the fabric of their religion, and bring it to nought. It is this. Seeing that they have a house at Jerusalem whereon they set great store, do you send and destroy it, for when it is destroyed their strength will be enfeebled, and their empire brought into contempt' (212). So he sent one of his generals named Chorawazaihus to Jerusalem to lay it waste; and others to Egypt and Alexandria to slay all the Romans whom they could find there. Chosroes himself went to Constantinople, and besieged it for fourteen years. Meanwhile, Chorawazaihus went to Damascus, laid it waste, and plundered the goods of the inhabitants. When he set out from thence on his way to Jerusalem he was joined by all the Jews who were at Tiberias, the mountains of Galilee, Nazareth, and the parts round about. All these Jews went to Jerusalem and helped the Persians to destroy the churches and murder the Christians. Now when he came to Jerusalem, first of all he destroyed the church of Gethsemane,¹ and also the church of Helena, both of which remain in ruins to this day. He also destroyed the churches of Constantine, that of Golgotha, and of the Holy Sepulchre; he set Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre on fire, and destroyed the greater part of the city as well, while the Persians and Jews together slew innumerable Christians. These are the corpses which lie in the place at Jerusalem called Mamela. After the Persians had burned, wasted, and slain, they went away,

¹ The text reads *ecclesia Gesmanitica*, probably a contraction for 'Gethsemanitica.'

leading captive Zacharias, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, together with many others. Moreover, they took away the wood of the cross which the Empress Helena had left there (it was a part of the upright beam), which, together with (213, 215) the captives, was taken away into Persia. Now Mary, the daughter of Maurice, begged Chosroes to give her the wood of the cross, the patriarch Zacharias, and many of those who had been led away captive, and took them into her own house, where they abode. Zacharias, the patriarch, died in captivity. Now, for fifteen years after Zacharias was led away captive the see of Jerusalem remained without a patriarch.

In the fourth year of the reign of the Emperor Phocas, Sergius, a Maronite, was made Patriarch of Jerusalem, and held the see for twenty-two years. In the second year of the same reign Theodorus was made Patriarch of Alexandria; after he had been patriarch for two years he died. In the fourth year of the same reign John the Charitable was made Patriarch of Alexandria; he sat for ten years, and then died. He was a Cyprian by birth, and was surnamed 'The Charitable,' because when fifteen years of age he saw in a dream a woman as beauteous as the sun standing beside him. 'She,' he tells us, 'touched my side, and when I awoke and beheld her I said, "Who art thou, and how darest thou come to me at such a time as this?" She was wearing an olive crown, and she replied, "I am the King's daughter, and if thou wilt make me thy friend I will lead thee into the King's presence, for no one can show thee the way to Him as well as I, seeing that it was I who brought Him down (216) to the earth, for it was through me that He came, and was incarnate and redeemed mankind." Then she departed from me. Hereupon said I, "Of a truth this is Charity." And straightway I arose and went to the

church. While I was on my way thither, lo ! there met me a naked stranger. Now it was exceeding cold, and the season was winter. So I took off the cloak which I was wearing and gave it to him, and I said to myself: "Presently I shall know whether what I have seen was a true vision, or one sent by the devil." And before I reached the church there followed me one in snow-white raiment who gave me a hundred (in some copies we read "a thousand") pieces of gold, saying, "Take these gold pieces and do what thou wilt therewith." And when I turned round to give them back to him I saw no man, wherefore I said, "Indeed this thing was true!" Now John the Charitable was wont to give all that he had in alms, so that he would even strip off the clothes which he wore and give them to the poor—nay, sometimes out of his exceeding great charity he would bestow upon them even the sacred vestments wherein he celebrated Mass, wherefore he was called John the Charitable.

In the sixth year of the reign of Phocas, Theodorus was appointed Roman patriarch ; he held the see for three years, and then died. But after the Persians had laid waste the churches of Jerusalem, and (217, 219) after setting fire to them had gone to their homes, a monk in the monastery of Duwakesus (which is the same as the monastery of Theodorus), by name Modestus, and the abbot of the same, after their departure set out on a journey to Ramla, Tiberias, Tyre, and Damascus, and begged the Christians to give something to help him to rebuild the churches of Jerusalem which the Persians had destroyed. They all contributed, and gathered a great sum of money, with which on his return to Jerusalem he built the churches of the Resurrection, of the Holy Sepulchre, of Calvary, and of St. Constantine, that building which stands at this day. Now, when John the Charitable, Patriarch of Alexandria,

heard that Modestus was rebuilding the churches which the Persians had destroyed, he sent him one thousand beasts of burden, a thousand sacks of corn, a thousand sacks of beans, a thousand jars of brine, a thousand jars of wine, a thousand pounds of iron, and a thousand workmen. But, after he had laid waste Jerusalem, Charawaziah marched upon Egypt and Alexandria: wherefore John the Charitable, when he heard that the Persians were coming to Alexandria, fled in terror to Cyprus, together with the Governor of Alexandria, a nobleman named Nicetas. When they were come to Cyprus, Nicetas begged John to accompany him to Constantinople, to the Emperor Phocas, that he might come into his presence and beg him to set him free from the siege wherewith he was threatened by the Persians. Howbeit, while they were at sea, John the Charitable beheld in a dream an angel standing (220) beside him, who said: 'The King of Heaven is nearer to thee than the king of the earth.' So John awoke, and said to Nicetas, 'Return with me to Cyprus, for I am about to die.' When they had come back to Cyprus, he died, after having held the see for ten years, and was buried in a village in Cyprus called Asataneta. After the death of John the Charitable, Alexandria remained without a patriarch for seven years. When Cesra (Chosroes) was besieging Constantinople, there were no Roman troops in Syria. Now there were at Tyre four thousand Jews. These Jews wrote to all the Jews who were at Jerusalem, Cyprus, Damascus, the hill country of Galilee, and Tiberias, bidding them assemble together on the night of the Christian Passover, slay all the Christians in Tyre, and then set out for Jerusalem, make away with every one whom they met, and seize the city. When this plot came to the ears of the nobleman who was Governor of Tyre, and of the inhabitants of that city, they laid hands upon all the Jews

therein, bound them with iron chains, and cast them into prison; they closed the gates of the city, and set up catapults and warlike engines near them. So when the night of the Christian Passover was come, the Jews from all the country round about gathered together at Tyre, according as the Jews of Tyre had written to them to do and as they had agreed among themselves. They numbered more than twenty-six thousand men; but the people of Tyre manfully repulsed them from the citadel. Howbeit the Jews destroyed all the churches at Tyre which stood without the citadel; but whensoever they destroyed any church, the inhabitants of Tyre took a hundred of the Jews whom they held captive, set them on the top of the citadel, cut off their heads there, and cast them over the walls. In this manner they slew two thousand men. Then a tumult arose among the Jews themselves, and they betook them to flight. The Tyrians sallied out and followed up their retreat, making a great slaughter among them—the survivors fled away in confusion, each man to his own country.

Now, in the city of Salonica there was a youth named Heraclius, together with some other nobles of that city. These nobles took ships, loaded them with barley, corn, and vegetables, and sent them, under the conduct of Heraclius, to Constantinople, for help and subsistence to the citizens, who were brought into great straits by the siege. When Heraclius arrived at Constantinople, the people rejoiced at his coming, and they were refreshed by the corn, barley, and beans which he brought. Heraclius was a youth of singular courage, wise and far-seeing in counsel, and crafty. He said to the counsellors and leaders: ‘Phocas is an emperor of the worst sort, and brings ill-luck upon all the Romans, for from the time when he was put in charge of the empire down to this day (224) you have

been straitened by an eight years' siege ; the provinces of Greece, Syria, and Egypt have suffered terribly, for the Persians have occupied those provinces, and, indeed, the whole of your country. My advice is, therefore, that you should kill him, and set up some other man as your chief.' As they agreed to this, Heraclius attacked Phocas and slew him. When the counsellors and leaders met to choose some one of the royal family to make him emperor over them, Heraclius said : ' It is of no use for you to make any man emperor unless he have the following qualities—to wit, unless he be remarkably temperate, well-versed in all matters connected with religion, prudent, truthful, hard-working, eloquent, a merciful ruler, and clever in planning stratagems against the enemy.' When they answered him, ' Who shall give us such a prince for our ruler ? ' he replied : ' Make a covenant with me, that if I point out such a man to you, you will choose him for your emperor.' When they had sworn that they would so do, in such a manner that he was able to trust them, he said, ' I am he.' Wherefore they chose him to rule over them, and Heraclius became Emperor of the Romans in the twenty-third year of Chosroes, King of the Persians, the son of Hormuzd Aperwizd.

225, 227. THE INSTITUTION OF THE HEGIRA.

In the first year of the reign of the Roman Emperor Heraclius there took place the flight of Mohammed, whom the Arabs have taken for their prophet, to Medina in the first month of Rabia. In that city he dwelt for ten years as an exile, and in the eighth of these years he set up a pulpit therein. Now, from Diocletian to the Hegira, or flight of Mohammed, is three hundred and thirty-eight years, and from our Lord Christ to the same is six hundred and fourteen. From Alexander to the same is nine hundred

and thirty-three. From the Babylonian captivity to the same is one thousand one hundred and ninety-six years. From David to the same is one thousand six hundred and seventy-three years. From the going out of Israel from Egypt to the same is two thousand two hundred and seventy-nine years. From Abraham to the same is two thousand seven hundred and eighty-six. From Peleg to the same is three thousand three hundred and twenty-seven years. From the flood to the same is three thousand eight hundred and fifty-eight years. From Adam to the same is six thousand one hundred and fourteen years. Now, after Heraclius had sat upon the throne of Constantinople for six years, he underwent a terrible siege, and the people of Constantinople, when the greater part of them had perished in the siege, were minded to open the gates of the city to Chosroes. When Heraclius learned this, being afraid that they would open the city and betray it to Chosroes, he himself sent to Chosroes saying, (228): 'Whatsoever conditions you may impose upon me, I will swear to perform them, provided only that you will depart.' Chosroes wrote to him in reply: 'If you wish me to depart, give me as the price of your ransom, and the ransom of your country, one thousand talents of gold, as many talents of silver, one thousand young maidens, one thousand horses, one thousand dresses of silk, and let this be your tribute, to be paid every year; but bring me this year's tribute straightway, and without delay, that I may depart from you.' Heraclius replied: 'I agree to the terms of the merciful King, but at this present I have not in my possession all that which he asks as the price of my ransom, seeing that the merciful King has separated me from all my possessions. Now if the merciful King will grant me my provinces, that I may go out into them and gather money, I will bring him all that he has asked for,

if he will wait for me for six months, and grant me security to travel in my provinces and gather money therein, and he will find me his obedient servant.' Chosroes agreed to his prayer; whereupon Heraclius called together his counsellors and generals, and said to them: 'I have made submission to Chosroes in order to lull him and his court into security; now I am going to set out for the land of Persia. I trust our Lord Jesus Christ to give me His help against the Persians, and to (229-231) keep Chosroes and his people from troubling us. If I should be long away and should not return to you within six months, do you amuse Chosroes with honeyed words, hold out hopes of success to him, and thus put him off for an entire year. Then if I return to you it will be well. But if I do not, do you act as may seem best to you. I leave my brother at Constantinople as my lieutenant over you, and do you agree to the words which I have spoken.' So they agreed, and prayed for a happy issue to his adventure.

Heraclius now chose the bravest and best of the generals of the Constantinople army, and more than five thousand men, to take with him. He prepared ships at Constantinople to carry both men and horses, sailed to Trebizond, and landed there. Having collected his forces and given his orders, he begged for help from the King of the Chozars,¹ promising him a throne to sit upon whenever he was present at court, and also from King Al Anjaz, to whom he offered a diadem to wear whenever he should come to court; and from the King of Al Sanariae, to whom also he promised a throne to sit upon whenever he should come to that same court, wherefore from that time forth the King of Al Sanariae has been called the 'King of the Throne.' After gaining these allies he set out into the mountain country of Ispahan, as far as Mord and the

¹ Turks. See Gibbon, vol. iv., p. 521.

city of Sapor,¹ issuing his orders and collecting forces in every city which he entered (232).

Whenever on his way he fell in with any Persian, man, woman, or child, he cut their throats. Now the people of the city of Sapor, when they saw Heraclius's forces, were terribly afraid, and set up military engines and ballistas (catapults) at their gates. Heraclius skirmished with them for some days, and then joining battle, ceased not to fight until he had taken the city. He slew everyone therein, men, women, and children, to the last, nay, they even cut infants out of the womb of pregnant women and dashed them against the stones. When Heraclius saw this he said : 'I am he of whom David prophesied when he said in Psalm cxxxvi., "Blessed shall he be who shall dash thy little ones against the stones."' After this, having set fire to the city and carried away a great multitude of captives, together with money and jewels beyond number, he laid waste the whole country of Persia. Then retracing his steps through the countries of Halware, Sharuz, and Al Madayen, he entered Miyapharekin, crossed the Tigris into Armenia, and proceeded as far as the river Arsenas. Among his captives he had with him a son of Chosroes, named Kobadlin (also called Sirawaih) the child of Mary, the daughter of the Emperor Maurice, at whose instance this war was waged. Now when he was come to Miyapharekin, he sent for Kobades, the son of Chosroes, and shaved his head and beard. He then gave him a letter to take to his father (233-235), set him upon an ass with a pack-saddle, and handed him over to a squadron of horse, whom he ordered to bring him to his father. This is a copy of the letter which he wrote :

'From the servant of Christ, Heraclius, who hath re-

¹ Casbin (Gibbon).

ceived help from God, to Chosroes the contemptible, the confounded, the helpless.

‘I have gathered together for you what sum I could as a ransom for myself and for my possession, to wit, Persian heads, in which I will pay that which I promised to you. Wherefore, as soon as you have read this letter, and before you lay it down from your hand, send someone to bring them to you. Farewell.’

When Kobades came to his father Chosroes, and his father beheld him with his head and beard shaven, and riding on a pack-saddle on an ass, he said: ‘What news do you bring?’ The son replied: ‘Heraclius has laid waste all the cities of Persia, has put men, women, and children to the sword, has destroyed and burned the royal city, slain all the people therein, and carried off treasure and jewels beyond any man’s counting. This is the letter.’ When Chosroes had read Heraclius’s letter he and all his followers were filled with deep sorrow, and wept for their children and families with many tears. Chosroes called together his counsellors and generals and said: ‘What think you we ought to do, seeing that our wives and our children are slain, and our houses and homes laid waste?’ His counsellors and generals answered: ‘It is of no use for us to remain here; but let us depart and find out by what road Heraclius is journeying, that we may meet him thereon.’ So Chosroes raised the siege of Constantinople and set out in search of Heraclius. While he was on his way he learned that Heraclius had already crossed the Tigris, and that he must needs ford the river Arsana. ‘Let us hurry thither,’ said they; ‘let us take possession of the fords before him, and prevent his crossing them. We hope that God will grant us the victory over him, that we may take away his captives and all the plunder which

he is carrying with him, seeing that he has destroyed the men of Persia and given up the women to outrage.' Chosroes, therefore, went to the river Arsana and pitched his camp at the ford thereof, outstripping Heraclius. Now, when Heraclius was only one day's journey distant from the river Arsana he was told that Chosroes was encamped at the ford waiting for him. Wherefore Heraclius left his army and his baggage, and with a few followers carrying straw and dung from the beasts of burden, marched a day's journey up the river, where he threw it into the stream. The water bore the straw and dung down to (237-239) Chosroes and his followers, who, when they saw it in the river, supposed that Heraclius must have crossed further up. They left the ford and marched up the river to look for the place where Heraclius was crossing. Heraclius, when he rejoined his people, was told that Chosroes had deserted the ford and marched up the river, so he himself and his followers went forward, crossed the river, and marched as far as Trebizond. He then took ship and sailed to Constantinople, whose citizens came out to meet him with joy and delight, and passed seven days in eating, drinking, and making merry. Now it was told to Chosroes that Heraclius had turned back again to the ford and crossed there, wherefore he set out for his own city and found it desolate, without even a child therein, and none to call or to answer.

From this time dates the beginning of the ruin of the Persian kingdom—that is to say, from the seventh year of Heraclius's reign, and the seventh year also from the Hegira. In the second year of Heraclius's reign, Yusatius (Bonifacius), a Roman, was elected patriarch. He reigned for four years, and then died. In the ninth year of his reign, which also was the ninth year from the Hegira, Heraclius set out from Constantinople and proceeded to

Jerusalem, that he might see what ruin the Persians had wrought therein. When he came to Hems¹ the inhabitants would not receive him (240), saying to him, 'Thou art a Maronite, and an enemy of our religion.' So he left them, and went to a monastery of St. Maro, where the monks came out to meet him. Heraclius was a Maronite, and bestowed great wealth upon them, and also endowed the monastery with lands, so that they flourished exceedingly. From thence he went to Damascus. Now there was at Damascus a man named Mansour, the son of Serjun, who had been appointed receiver of revenue by the Emperor Maurice. When Heraclius asked him for the moneys due for all the years during which the Romans had been besieged at Constantinople, he replied that he had paid the tribute of Damascus to Chosroes. Hereupon Heraclius punished him with stripes and imprisonment until he had wrung from him one hundred thousand pieces of gold, after which he continued him in that office; but for this cause Mansour bore Heraclius a grudge. From thence Heraclius set out for Jerusalem. When he came to Tiberias, the Jews who dwelt in Tiberias, and in the hill country of Galilee and Nazareth and all the towns in that country, came out to meet him, bearing presents, wishing him good luck, and begging him to grant them security, which he promised, and set his seal to a written covenant with them. When he came to Jerusalem he was met by the monks of the convent of Al Sik (241, 243), and the dwellers in the city of Jerusalem, accompanied by Modestus, with incense burning in censers. When he entered the city and saw what the Persians had ruined and burned he was exceeding sorrowful. Afterwards, when Modestus² had beheld all these places—to wit, the

¹ Emesa.

² There seems to be some mistake in the text here.

Church of the Resurrection, of Golgotha, and Mar Constantine—he again became joyful, and thanked Modestus for what he had done. The monks and people of Jerusalem told him how the Jews who dwelt round about Jerusalem, together with those who dwelt in the hill country of Galilee, had sided with the Persians when they came, had helped them, and had slaughtered more of the Christians than the Persians had done, had ruined their churches, and set them on fire; moreover, he was shown the corpses of the slain which had been cast into Mamela. They also told him what the Jews had done at Tyre in slaying the Christians and destroying churches. Heraclius said to them in answer, ‘What would you then that I should do?’ They replied, ‘Do us a favour, and put away all the Jews that dwell round about Jerusalem and in the hill country of Galilee, for we are not sure that when any enemy comes they will not again help him against us, even as they helped the Persians.’ Heraclius answered, ‘How can I suffer them to be slain when I have already granted them security, and have sealed a written covenant with them to that end? (244) Ye know what is the punishment of one who breaks his covenant. It would be shameful for me to break my plighted word and my oath that I have sworn, and would bring me ill-repute; moreover, if after that I were to make a written covenant with anyone who is not a Jew, I know not whether he would accept it from me. Wherefore, unless I uphold this covenant I shall be thought by all men to be a liar, a cheat, and a man unworthy to be trusted, besides the great sin and wickedness whereof I should be guilty before our Lord Christ if I were to slay the people whom I had sworn to save, and with whom I had sealed a written covenant.’ They answered, ‘The Lord Christ knoweth that their slaughter will be to thee for a remission of

sins, and for an atonement for thy offences; men also will have thee excused because at the time when thou didst grant them security, when they did meet thee with presents, thou knewest not, nor hadst beheld, the slaughter of Christians which they have wrought, or the churches which they have destroyed. This was deceitfully done by them, that they might put away the wickedness that they had done. Now their slaughter would be a sacrifice offered by thee to God, and we will take this sin from thee upon ourselves, and will atone for it for thee, begging our Lord Jesus Christ not to lay it to your charge. Moreover, in the week wherein eggs and cheese are eaten—that is, the week before the great fast—we proclaim (245, 247) a complete fast, to be counted as part of the great fast, with abstinence from eggs and cheese as long as the Christian religion shall endure' (for, indeed, the Melchites¹ abstain from flesh in that week, and eat eggs, cheese, and fish therein, as is clear from the *Typicus* or *Book of Rules* of Mar Saba). They said to him, 'During that week we will fast for thy sake, abstaining from all flesh and fat, and this we sanctify by canon, excommunication, and anathema, and will send letters about it to all countries, that it may be an atonement for that which you have granted to us.'

So Heraclius consented to them in this matter, and slew countless numbers of the Jews who dwelt round about Jerusalem, and in the hill country of Galilee; but some of them hid themselves, and some saved themselves by flight into the desert, into valleys and mountains, and even to Egypt. So it was decreed that the first week of the fast wherein the Melchites abstain from flesh alone should be an absolute fast, to be kept for the sake of the Emperor Heraclius, to atone for his breaking his covenant and slaying the Jews, and they abstain from eating eggs,

¹ See Gibbon, chap. lviii., note 142.

cheese, and fish therein, and sent letters about this matter into all lands. The Copts of Egypt observe this fast even to this day ; but after the death of Heraclius they who dwell in Damascus, in Syria, and the Greek Melchites again ate eggs, cheese, and fish during that week. During that week they fast on Wednesday and Friday till the hour of nones, and then they eat eggs, cheese, and fish according to the rule laid down by St. Nicephorus, Patriarch of Constantinople, martyr and confessor, as is set forth in the Typicus or Book of Rules of the Church, that the orthodox should eat eggs and cheese in that week even on Wednesday and Friday, save only that on those days they must fast until nones. This rule proves those who fast for the sake of the Emperor Heraclius to be of the sect of the Maronites, from whose evil deeds may God turn us away, seeing that it is not lawful to fast for the sake of a mortal man, and much more so because this emperor, when departing this life, died a Maronite. To return to our history, Heraclius made Modestus, the prior of the monastery of Al Ducesi, Patriarch of Jerusalem, and bade him follow him to Damascus, that he might bestow upon him some of the tribute of Damascus, and return to him some of the tribute of Palestine, in order that he might restore all the churches at Jerusalem which the Persians had ruined. Heraclius now returned from Jerusalem to Damascus, and abode there, extorting money from Mansur. Modestus reigned for nine months and then died. After his death the See of Jerusalem remained without a patriarch for six years.

In the eleventh year (249-251) of the reign of Heraclius died Mohammed, the son of Abdullah, the prophet of the Moslems, on the second Monday in the month Rabia the first, in the eleventh year from the Hegira, and was buried in his own house, wherein he died, that is, the house of

Ayesha. He suffered from his last illness for thirteen days. He was sixty-three years old when he died, and he left no surviving children except Fatima, who also died forty days after him (or, according to other accounts, seventy), in the reign of the Caliph Abou Bekr, for the Moslems had met together to make Abou Bekr Caliph, whose name¹ was Abdullah Ebn Othman Amer, Ebn Caab, Ebn Saad, Ebn Tiym, Ebn Morrah, while his mother was Salma, the daughter of Socher, Ebn Amur, Ebn Saab, Ebn Saad, Ebn Tiym, Ebn Morrah. His coronation took place on the same day as Mohammed's death. Omar Ebn Chetabi and Othman Ebn Afani, amongst others, swore fealty to him, in the eleventh year of the reign of the Roman Emperor Heraclius. In this year Oborodus (Honorius) was made Patriarch of Rome. He reigned for eighteen years, and then died.

Now when Chosroes, the son of Hormuzd, came to his city, and beheld the slaughter and the ruin which Heraclius had wrought there, he was filled with grievous sorrow, but laid aside nothing of his fierceness of disposition, so that men became weary of his rule, and lost patience with him (252); they called him unlucky, seeing that in his reign the people of Persia had perished and their houses had been laid waste. He, therefore, was set aside, after reigning for thirty-eight years, and in his place they set his son Kobades, also called Shirawaih, the son of Mary, the daughter of the Roman Emperor Maurice, whose murder by his own people had been the cause of all these troubles, for he was Chosroes's father-in-law, and Chosroes wished to avenge his death.

Kobades, when on the throne, loved justice, and removed the grievances from which Persia had suffered. He put to death eighteen of his father's children, who opposed him

¹ ? Pedigree.

because of his mother ; the rest of Chosroes's household took to flight. Moreover, he said : ' I will remit the taxes of my people, so that my justice and goodness may reach to every one throughout my kingdom.' But before long his subjects were attacked by the plague, which carried off many of them, together with their King Shirawaih, also called Kobades, and his father Chosroes also. The length of his reign was eight months. After him reigned Azdshir, the son of Shirawaih, who, after he had reigned for five months, was attacked and slain by the Præfect of the western frontier. The throne was then usurped by one Jorhan, who was not of royal blood, and of whose family no one else aspired to the throne. It was he whom Aperwiz sent to wage war against the Romans (253-255). He was treacherously slain by a woman of the royal family named Arzmandocht, after he had reigned for twenty-two days ; but he is not counted in the roll of kings. After him one of the sons of Hormuz reigned. He had been in the country of the Turks, and on hearing what troubles had befallen Persia, came back ; his name was Chosroes, Ebn Kohad, Ebn Hormoz. But the governor of the Khorassan frontier attacked him after he had reigned for three months, and slew him, wherefore he also is not reckoned among the Kings of Persia. Then after him there reigned for seven years Murta, the daughter of Chosroes, who was own sister to Chosroes ; she exacted no tribute, and distributed money among the army, wherefore when she was seated upon the throne she was reckoned among the Queens of Persia.

Next after her reigned one named Hoshnastadah, one of the sons of Chosroes's paternal uncle. He reigned for two months, and then was slain, and is not counted among the Kings of Persia. After him reigned Arzmandocht, the daughter of Chosroes, who some time afterwards was

poisoned, after she had reigned for a year and four months; she also was seated on the throne, and was reckoned among the Queens of Persia. After her a man named Parachoradchosra reigned for one month, and then was slain, and is not counted among the Kings of Persia. All the time of the reign of Shirawaih, and of his successors, both male and female, both those who were wanted as kings and those who were passed over (256), down to Parachoradchosra, together with the interregnum which took place between each of these kings, was four years, full of seditions and rebellions. Now, when the Persians saw into what a state they had been brought by their factions, how the Romans were gathering strength, and what evils were threatening both their faith and their national existence, they sent for Yezdegird, Chosroes's son, who had fled from Shirawaih when he was murdering his brothers, and made him their king, he being then fifteen years old. But their desires were discordant, their society broken up, and they were at war with one another, the inhabitants of every province, city, and town throughout the entire kingdom, fighting with their neighbours. In this state their cities remained, that is to say, with their prosperity gone to ruin, their people divided against themselves, their kingdom broken up, and the men thereof quarrelling one with another, for a space of eight years. He was set upon the throne in the first year of the Caliphate of Abou Bekr, which is the eleventh year of the Roman Emperor Heraclius.

When Abou Bekr was elected Caliph he made war upon the dissenting Arabs until they came back to Islam. After this he sent Khaled Ebn Walid with a great army to Eracus. When he had pitched his camp in Mesopotamia, he graciously received the chief men of that country who came to meet him (257-259), and made peace with

them for a sum of seventy thousand pieces of money, which was the first tribute paid in Eracus, and the first money which reached Abou Bekr from that province. After this Abou Bekr wrote to Yemen, Al Tayit, Mecca, and other Arab tribes, begging their help to attack the Romans. When they came to him, he sent out Omar Ebnol Asi, Sharjabilum Ebn Hasnab, Abaobaid Ebnol Jarahi, and Yazid Ebn Abi Sofyan, in command of his forces, with Omar Ebnol Asi as their general, and bade them go into Syria by the road Ilak. He ordered them not to slay any old man, or infant, or woman, nor to cut down any fruit-bearing tree, nor lay waste any tilled field, nor cut down or burn any palm-tree, nor slay sheep, ox, or goat. So they marched on their way until they encamped in the land called Tadun, which is one of the provinces of Gaza, on the side looking towards Hejaz. Here news was brought them that Heraclius's army was gathered together in Gaza, for Heraclius at that time was at Damascus. Omar Ebnol Asi, therefore, wrote to Abou Bekr asking him for aid, and told him that all Heraclius's forces were gathered together. Abou Bekr hereupon wrote to Kaled Ebn Walid, bidding him march his army to Omar Ebnol Asi, that he might reinforce him. Khaled Ebn Walid (260) set out from Jazrah and came to Omar Ebnol Asi by way of the desert.

Heraclius's army had entrenched itself at Gaza. When they came to Gaza, Patricius, the commander of Heraclius's army, sent to the Moslem army asking their general to send someone to him who might act as ambassador between them. Then Khaled said to Omar Ebnol Asi: 'Go thou unto him.' So Omar set out, and entered the open gate of Gaza. Patricius, when Omar came into his presence, greeted him, and then said to him: 'What has brought you into our country, and what do you want?'

Omar Ebnol Asi replied : 'Our Lord hath ordered us to make war upon you, unless you will either embrace our religion, so that what is ours may be yours, and he who is our enemy may be your enemy, and ye may be our brethren, so that it may not be lawful for us to hurt you, or be at variance with you ; or, if you will not do this, you shall pay whatever tribute we may agree upon every year as long as we both exist. In this case we will fight for your sake against any who may attack you, or who may oppose you in any matter relating to your lands, your lives, your property, or your children, and will turn away such mischief from you as long as we remain your allies, and as long as your treaty with us remains in force. If you refuse these conditions, there is nothing but the sword to decide our dispute (261-263), until we either fall to the last man or obtain our desire from you.' When Patricius heard what Omar Ebnol Asi said, and saw how little he regarded him, he said to his followers : 'I suspect that this man is the leader of this people,' and gave them orders to cut off his head when he was going out of the city gate. But there was a boy named Wardem with Omar who knew the Roman tongue, because he was a Greek by birth. Wardem told Omar what he had heard, and said : 'Invent some stratagem to get out' (in safety). So when Patricius said to Omar Ebnol Asi : 'Is there anyone among your people who is your equal?' Omar answered : 'I am the least practised speaker and the least powerful of all my people, being only a messenger, to bring to you the words which they have told me ; there are ten men more powerful than I, who rule the army, and who would have come with me, but sent me to hear what you would say. If you think proper for me to bring them, that you may hear what they say, and that you may know that I have spoken the truth, I will do so.' 'Do so,' said

Patricius, for he thought and said to himself, 'I had better slay many than one.' He sent word, therefore, to those whom he had (264) bidden to slay Omar, not to kill him or do him any hurt, hoping that his ten companions would come, and he might make away with them all. Omar went out of the gate and told his story to his comrades. 'I,' said he, 'will never go back to such a man as that.' He then cried out: 'God is most great,' and as the Romans came out of the town he joined battle with them. In the battle he routed the Romans with great slaughter. The Moslems followed up their retreat and drove them out of Palestine and Ordonnum¹ to Jerusalem and Cæsarea, where they fortified themselves. (The Moslems) then left them alone, and went into the country of Bathnia.² They sent letters to Abou Bekr telling what they had done; but when the messenger came to him he was dead, and Omar Ebn il Chetabi was reigning as his successor, for Abou Bekr had named Omar Ebn il Chetabi by his will, made during his last illness. This will was written by the hand of Othman Ebn Attain. Abou Bekr died on the last day but one of the month Iom Ada the later, in the thirteenth year from the Hegira. Omar Ebn il Chetabi prayed for him, and he was buried in the same temple as Mohammed. His Caliphate lasted two years, three months, and twenty-two days. He was sixty-three years of age on the day of his death. Abou Bekr was a tall, fair man, but of a fairness inclined to yellowness, lean, with a straggling moustache, a thin face, and sunken eyes. He was wont to dye his beard with henna and cetamum, and seldom wore his cloak tight round his body. His counsellor was Abu Kahafa Alsnidus; his door-keeper was his slave Sadid.

¹ This word is subsequently explained to mean the country watered by the Jordan.

² Batnæ (?).

THE CALIPHATE OF OMAR EBN IL CHETABI.

Omar was the son of Il Chetabi, who was the son of Nofail, who was the son of Abd ul Aziz, who was the son of Riyah, who was the son of Ada, who was the son of Caab. His mother was Cathima, the daughter of Hassan, the son of Il Mogaraya, who was the son of Abdillabi, who was the son of Omar, who was the son of Machzum. He became Caliph on the same Thursday on which Abou Bekr died, which was in the thirteenth year of the reign of the Roman Emperor Heraclius. At the beginning of his Caliphate George was Patriarch of Alexandria, and reigned four years; but when he heard that the Moslems had conquered the Romans and occupied Palestine, and that they were marching upon Egypt, he took ship from Alexandria and fled to Palestine, and after him the see of Alexandria remained without a Melchite patriarch for ninety-seven years. After his flight Cyrus was appointed Patriarch of Alexandria. He was a Maronite,¹ of the same religion

¹ 'Eutychius's version is plainly incorrect. Who really was the founder of the Maronites is a point involved in much obscurity. Maro, the ascetic, is out of the question, of course, as he lived two centuries before the Monothelite controversy arose' (Rev. G. T. Stokes, in Smith's 'Dictionary of Christian Biography').

Monothelism, which is the doctrine alluded to in the text, was the simple and natural consequence of Monophysitism, and originated in the endeavours made by the State Church in the seventh century to conciliate the Monophysites. The Emperor Heraclius (610-641), pressed as he was on the one side by the Persians and on the other by Islam, had a vital political interest in the reconciliation, and in the Constantinopolitan patriarch Sergius, a Syrian by birth and probably of Jacobite descent, he found an eager ally. The principal objection of the Monophysites to the Chalcedonian confession it seemed possible to meet without infringing upon the doctrine of the two natures in Christ, by an adroit development of the idea of the one divine-human energy in Christ, in which the two natures melted together, and it was with that tool in their hands that the emperor and the patriarch set to work. During his stay in Armenia, in 622,

as Heraclius. Now there was at Alexandria a monk named Sophronius, who found fault with the doctrine of

Heraclius opened negotiations with Paulus, and though the latter hesitated, some years later a union between the State Church and the Armenian Church was actually brought about at the synod of Charnum. In 626, during his visit to the Lazians, Heraclius succeeded in gaining Bishop Cyrus, of Phasis, for the new doctrine and the union; and when, in 628, he returned from a victorious campaign against the Persians, bringing back the true cross to Jerusalem, he entered into communication with the Jacobite patriarch of Antioch, Athanasius. The orthodox Patriarch of Antioch, Anastasius II., had died in 609 or 610, and his chair had remained vacant since that time. The emperor now proposed to elevate Athanasius to that see on condition of his recognising the Chalcedonian confession, such as explained by the new doctrine. Athanasius accepted. Shortly after, in 630 or 631, Cyrus of Phasis was appointed Bishop of Alexandria; and in 633 he reported to Constantinople that thousands of Monophysites were by the new doctrine won for the union. In Alexandria, however, the first opposition arose. A monk, Sophronius, a native of Damascus, who had lived for some time at Rome, came to Alexandria, and was much startled by the new doctrine, which he designated as rank Apollinarianism. He immediately repaired to Constantinople, but Sergius and Pope Honorius succeeded in appeasing him for a time. The remarkable letter which the pope on that occasion wrote to Sergius is still extant in a Greek translation (Mansi, 'Con. Coll.,' xi. 537), and proves, beyond doubt, that he was a Monothelite—that is, a heretic. Shortly after, Sophronius was elected Bishop of Jerusalem, and the official announcement of that event he accompanied with a confession, the so-called *Synodicon* (Mansi, 'Con. Coll.,' xi. 461, 509), in which he rejected the doctrine of one energy in Christ. In order to prevent any further discussion of the subject, the emperor issued in 638 a kind of encyclical letter drawn up by Sergius, the so-called *Ecthesis*, in which he proposed to avoid both the expression 'one energy,' and the expression 'two energies'; the former, because it might lead to a fatal rejection of the doctrine of a double nature in Christ; the latter, because it might lead to an absurd acceptation of a doctrine of a double will in Christ. See for this whole first part of the controversy, besides the correspondence between Sergius and Honorius, and between Cyrus and Sergius, in Mansi, l. c. xi., the notes of Anastasius Presbyter, edited by A. Mai in his 'Script. Vet. Nova Coll.,' 192-206.—W. Möller, s.v. 'Monothelites,' in Schaff's edition of Herzog's

the Patriarch Cyrus. Cyrus affirmed that our Lord Christ had two natures, one will, one operation, and one person, which is the teaching of Maro (268). Sophronius, therefore, went to Cyril the patriarch, and held a disputation with him. 'If,' said he, 'it were as you say, and Christ had one will and one energy, He must needs have one nature, not two natures, as the Jacobites assert. But we attribute to Him two wills and two energies, seeing that He hath two natures, for it is impossible that One who hath two natures should have one will. Had He only one will, He must needs have only one nature. Seeing, then, that He hath two natures, He hath also two wills.' Cyrus replied: 'Both Theodorus (al Horius), Patriarch of Rome, and Sergius, Patriarch of Constantinople, agree with this opinion of mine.' So Sophronius set out for Constantinople, where he met the Patriarch Sergius, and told him what had passed between himself and Cyrus, the Patriarch of Alexandria, at which Sergius, the Patriarch of Constantinople, wondered; but two years afterwards, when he had received presents from Cyrus, he changed his mind, opposed Sophronius, and subscribed to Cyrus's opinion. Moreover, Theodorus, the Patriarch of Rome, was of the wrong opinion, and gave his consent to their doctrine, declaring that it was Christ's nature alone which was twofold. Sophronius combated this, saying, 'It is no use, for all things in Him are double, save only His person.' Then they said, 'We neither say that He hath two wills, nor that He hath one will,' and the opinion of the Church remained undecided (269-271) for about forty-six years. Then Sophronius went from Constantinople to Jerusalem, and told the monks and people of Jerusalem whom he met what had befallen him, and set

'Religious Encyclopædia.' New York, 1883. Compare also Gibbon, chap. xlvii.

forth his story. As there was no patriarch at Constantinople, Sophronius was given the office of patriarch, because of the sincerity of his faith. He also wrote a little book about the faith, which he sent out into all lands, and all people throughout the world accepted the same. This was in the second year of the Caliphate of Omar Ebnil Chetabi. In the fifth year of the same Caliphate Mandonius, who was a Maronite, was appointed Patriarch of Antioch in the city of Constantinople. He dwelt at Constantinople for six years, and there died, without having entered or even seen Antioch.

In the sixth year of the Caliphate of Omar Ebnil Chetabi, in the eighteenth year of the reign of Heraclius, Syrus, a Maronite, was appointed Patriarch of Constantinople. He reigned for eight years (or, according to another authority, two), but was driven into exile by Martina, the wife of Heraclius, who was Orthodox. She made Paulus Patriarch of Constantinople in his stead; now Paulus also was a Maronite. He reigned for six years, and then died. After his death Heraclius replaced Syrus, whom his wife had driven out, in the see, which he held for seven years, and then died. Meanwhile the Moslems had surrounded Damascus with siege-works. When Omar Ebnol Chetabi was appointed Caliph he wrote a letter deposing Omar Ebnol Asi from the command, which he entrusted to Khaled Ebnil Walid. The Roman Emperor Heraclius, who had fallen back from Damascus upon Hems, when he heard that the Moslems had taken Palestine, and had set out to Batnia, went down from Hems to Antioch, where he sent forth a proclamation, and collected together the most Arabs of the tribes of Gazan, Jedan, Calb, Lachan, and the rest of the Arabs over whom he bore rule. He set over them one of his own people, named Mahan, as their leader, and sent them to Damascus,

writing at the same time to his lieutenant, Mansur, to bid him pay these men and take them into his service. But when Mahan and the troops with him reached Damascus, Mansur said to them : 'The Emperor has no need of this great host, for the Arabs are a warlike people by nature, and anyone who goes against them with hostile intent will bring ruin upon his army. But to maintain this host much money is needed, and we have no money at Damascus to give to it.' This, some say, was spoken in order to get rid of them, and through treachery on his part, to the end that the men, hearing that there was no money at Damascus to be given to them, might disperse, and Damascus be surrendered to the Moslems. Mahan replied : 'Give us what money you have, and we will write to the Emperor and tell him that there is no money at Damascus, so that if he needs (273-278) men he may invent some way of raising money, and may send it to them by some means or other.' When Mahan heard that the Arabs had left Tiberias and were marching on Damascus, he gathered his forces at Damascus and marched them out for two days, after which he pitched his camp at a great ford called Wadil Ramad, in the place called Aljaulan, or commonly Yakusah. The ford was like a great ditch between him and the Arabs. There he remained for some days, with the Arabs encamped over against him. Some days afterwards Mansur, the prefect, came from Damascus to Mahan's army, bringing with him money which he had collected at Damascus to pay the soldiers. He came to the army by night, accompanied by many of the people of Damascus carrying lights, who, when they drew near to the army, beat drums, blew trumpets, and shouted aloud. This also was done by Mansur with treacherous intent. Now when the Romans saw the lights in their rear, and heard the noise of the drums and trumpets, they

supposed that the Arabs were about to attack them in the rear and surround them. They therefore all took flight into the stream called Wadil Remad, which is an exceeding great stream, and perished there. Only a very few escaped, who fled in different directions; some went back to Damascus, some fled to Jerusalem, and some to Cæsarea (276) of Palestine. Those of the Romans who went to Damascus, fearing that they might be besieged by the Moslems, carried into the city as much bread and other provisions as they could, set up ballistæ and military engines at the gates, and put soldiers in charge of them. They then wrote to the Emperor Heraclius, begging for help, and told him how Mansur had dealt with them, and the stratagem whereby he had slain so many of them. But Mahan was afraid to return to the Emperor Heraclius, lest he should be put to death by him, and fled to Mount Sinai, where he embraced the monastic life under the name of Anastasius. He is the author of the explanatory treatise upon the sixth of David's psalms.

When the Moslems came to Damascus, Khaled Ebnol Walid pitched his camp before the East Gate, Abou Obeid Ebnol Jarahi before the Gate of Iabia, Amrou Ebnol Asi before the Gate of Thomas, and Yazid Ebn Abi Sofan before the Little Gate as far as the Gate Cisan. They besieged the city for six months all but one day, and every day the Greeks sallied out of the gates and harassed them with skirmishes. When Omar Ebnol Chetabi learned this, he sent a letter deposing Khaled Ebn al Walid from the command, which he gave to Abou Obeidah Ebn Jarahi.

Now, when the siege began to be a heavy burden on the people of Damascus, Mansur, the Prefect (277-279) of Damascus, came out of the East Gate and begged Khaled Ebnol Walid to grant indemnity to himself and his

followers, and to the inhabitants of Damascus except the Romans, in which case they would open the gates of Damascus to him. Khaled agreed to his request, and wrote a letter of indemnity for him, whereof this is the copy: 'This writing is given by Khaled Ebn Walid to the inhabitants of the city of Damascus. Be it known to you that I have promised security for your lives, your houses, your property, and your churches, that they may not be destroyed, nor inhabited, but be peacefully handed over to you.'

When Khaled had given this writing to Mansur the latter opened to him the East Gate, and Khaled entered the city, crying to his followers: 'Sheath your swords.' When Khaled Ebn Walid's soldiers had entered the city, they praised God Almighty with a loud voice. The Greek soldiers who were on guard at the gates, hearing this thanksgiving, knew that Mansur had opened the gate and let the Arabs into the city. They, therefore, left their gates and fled. Abou Obeidah Ebn Jarahi marched, with his sword drawn, through the Gate of Iabia. Iazid Ebn Abi Sofyan, also with his sword drawn, marched through the Little Gate; and Omar Ebn al Asi, with his sword drawn, through the Thomas Gate, where for a while a fierce battle was fought. A great multitude of men of both sides was slain at the Thomas Gate, and the Mohammedans never ceased slaying (280) and making prisoners. Khaled Ebn al Walid, Abou Obeidah Ebn Jarahi, Yazid Ebn Abi Sofyan, and Amrou Ebn Asi, all met together at the place called Al Ziyain. Mansur's writing was unfolded in his hand. So Khaled Ebn Walid told them the terms of peace which he had granted to the people of Damascus. When Yazid Ebn Abi Sofyan said, 'We have not confirmed these terms,' Abou Obeidah and Omar Ebn Asi replied, 'We do confirm them,' and called

out to their followers, 'Sheath your swords.' But Yazad said to his followers, 'Do not sheath them.' Then said Omar Ebnol Asi, 'Let us agree that the city capitulated upon terms.' And this was agreed to by all. Mansur then said to them, 'Bear witness to this for me straight-way.' And so there was written upon his document: 'Witnessed by Abou Obeidah Ebnol Jarahi, Yazid Ebn Abi Sofyan, Amrou Ebnol Asi, and Sarjabil Ebn Hajanæ,' and Mansur took back his document.

Such of the Greek soldiers as escaped went to the Emperor Heraclius, at Antioch. When the Emperor Heraclius heard that Damascus was taken he said: 'Farewell, Syria,' meaning, 'Farewell, Damascus of Syria.' He then set out for Constantinople, in the third year of the Caliphate of Omar Ebnol Chetabi. But as for Mansur, the Governor of Damascus, every patriarch and bishop throughout all the world anathematized him for the evil that he had wrought, because he caused the Greeks to be slain, and helped the (281-283) Mohammedans against them. In seven days there came a messenger to Omar Ebnol Chetabi to tell him that Damascus was taken. Hereupon Omar Ebnol Chetabi wrote to Amrou Ebnol Asi, bidding him lead his army away to Palestine. He likewise wrote making Yazid Ebn Abi Sofyan Governor of Damascus, ordering Serjabil, the son of Hassan, to march to Orodannum (the country about Jordan) and Abou Obeidah Ebnol Jarahi to march to Emesa.

So Amrou Ebnol Asi set out for Palestine, Sarjabil for Orodannum, and Abou Obeidah Ebnol Jarahi for Baalbec, whose inhabitants said to him: 'We accept the same conditions as those granted to the Damascenes, without a murmur.' So he gave them security by a written document. Then he went to Emesa, whose people also said: 'We also accept the same conditions whereon you

made peace with the Damascenes'; and for them also he wrote a bond of security and entered their city. He likewise wrote a bond for the people of Aleppo, and all the cities round about begged him to receive their capitulation. After this, when news was brought that Omar Ebnol Chetabi was coming, Abou Obeidah Ebnol Jarahi made Aiyad Ebn Gunam his lieutenant, Yazid Ebn Abi Sofyan made Mawian Ebn Abi Sofyan his lieutenant, and Amrou Ebnol Asi made his son Abdullah his lieutenant. They (284) all then went to meet (284) Omar Ebnil Chetabi, and then they all set out and invested the city of Jerusalem. Sophronius, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, came out to Omar Ebnil Chetabi, and Omar promised him safety, and wrote a document for him in these words: 'In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful. From Omar Ebnil Chetabi to the dwellers in the city of Ælia, that they may be safe as regards their lives, their children, their property, and their churches; that these shall neither be pulled down nor occupied'; and he added the names of witnesses. So the city gate was opened to Omar, and he sat down in the sanctuary of the Church of the Resurrection (*Ἀνάστασις*). When the time for prayer was come, Omar said to the Patriarch Sophronius: 'I would pray.' The patriarch answered: 'O Commander of the Faithful, pray where you are.' Omar replied: 'I will not pray here.' So the patriarch led him out to Constantine's Church, and laid down a carpet for him in the midst of the church; but Omar said: 'Neither will I pray here.' So he went out to the steps which are at the door of St. Constantine's Church, at the east end, and prayed there alone upon the steps. He then sat down and said to the Patriarch Sophronius: 'Patriarch, dost thou know wherefore I would not pray within the church?' He replied: 'I know not, O Commander of the Faithful.' Omar said

to him : ' Had I prayed within the church you would have lost it, and it would have passed out of your hands, for after I had gone away the Mohammedans would have taken it from you, for already they were about (285-287) to say, " Here Omar prayed." But bring me a parchment, that I may write a charter for you.' So Omar wrote a charter, wherein he forbade any Mohammedan whatever to pray upon those steps, save himself alone, and forbade them to assemble there for prayers, or to be called together there for prayers by the voice of the muezzin. When he had written a charter about this matter he gave it to the patriarch. Then Omar said to him : ' There is somewhat due to me from you by the terms of our treaty ; grant me a place wherein I may build a temple.' The patriarch answered him : ' I grant to the commander of the faithful a place whereon he may build his temple (to build which was too hard a task for the Greek Emperors, to wit, the stone whereon God spoke unto Jacob, which Jacob called the Gate of Heaven, but the Israelites call it the Holy of Holies. This lies in the midst of the world, and was a sanctuary of the Israelites, who greatly venerate it, and who, where-soever they may be, always when they pray turn their faces towards it), on condition that you write a charter for me, forbidding any other Mohammedan place of prayer to be set up in Jerusalem save that one alone.' So Omar Ebnil Chetabi wrote a charter for him on that matter and gave it to him. Now, when the Romans embraced the Christian religion, and Helena, Constantine's mother, was building churches at Jerusalem, the place of the Rock, and the parts adjacent thereunto, were ruinous (288), and were therefore left alone. They cast dirt upon the stone, so that a great dunghill was piled up on it, wherefore the Romans neglected it, and did not pay to it the honour which the Israelites were wont to do ; neither did they build a church

over it, for that our Lord Jesus Christ said in the Gospel: 'Behold your house shall be left unto you desolate;'¹ and, again, 'There shall not be left one stone upon another that shall not be cast down.'² For this cause the Christians left it desolate, and built no church above it. Now, Sophronius the Patriarch took Omar Ebnol Chetabi by the hand, and led him to the dunghill. Omar lifted up the hem of his garment and filled it with dirt, which he cast into the Valley of Gehenna. When the Mohammedans saw Omar Ebnol Chetabi carrying dirt in his lap, they all straightway carried it away in their laps, clothes, shields, baskets, and pitchers, until the place was changed and the stone appeared. Then some said: 'Let us build a temple with the stone for Keblah. But Omar replied: 'Not so; but let us build the temple so as to place the stone in its back part.' So Omar built a temple and set the stone in its back part. From thence he went to see Bethlehem. When the time of prayer was come, he prayed (289-291) within the church, at the south arch. All this arch was adorned with mosaic work. Omar wrote a charter for the patriarch forbidding Mohammedans to pray in that place save one at a time, one after the other, and forbidding their meeting there for prayer, or being called together by the voice of a crier; and he forbade any part of this charter to be altered. But in these our days the Mohammedans have disobeyed the written words of Omar Ebnol Chetabi, for they have taken away the mosaic work from the arch, and have written what they thought proper thereon; and they have met there for prayer, and they have been called together by the voice of a crier. They have done the same thing, too, with regard to the steps which were at the gate of Constantine's

¹ Matt. xxiii. 38.

² Matt. xxiv. 2.

Church, the steps upon which Omar prayed; and they have taken to themselves half of the vestibule of the church, and made an oratory therein, which they call Omar's oratory.

Sophronius, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, died after he had held that office for four years. Thenceforth, from the time of his death, Jerusalem remained without a patriarch for twenty-seven years.

NOTE TO EUTYCHIUS.

In the spelling of the proper names I have followed Pococke's version, whose orthography is very uncertain. The reader will understand that—

By Chosroes		is meant Khusru II., King of Persia A.D. 590-628,
„ Abou Obeidah ebnol Jarahi	„	Abu Obeidah ibn el Jarrah,
„ Khaled Ebn Walid	„	Khâlid ibn Walîd,
„ Omar Ebnol Asi	„	Amr ibn el As (Amru),
„ Omar Ebn il Chetabi	„	Omar ibn el Khattâb,
„ Yazid Ebn Abi Sofyan	„	Yezid ibn Abu Sofian,
and so on.		

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